R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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YOUTH IN NEW YORK CITY--OUT-OF-SCHOOL AND OUT-OF-WORK, A STUDY OF EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION OF TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS. REPORT.

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NEW YORK CITY YOUTH BOARD, N.Y.

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PRESENTED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW YORK CITY LABOR MARKET ARE FACTS ABOUT THE NUMBER OF YOUTHS IN THE 16- TO 24-YEAR-OLD AGE GROUP WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED AND NOT IN SCHOOL AND ABOUT THE SCHOOL ATTAINMENT OF NEW YORK CITY YOUTH. A COMPARISON OF THE SCHOOL ATTAINMENT AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WHITE AND NONWHITE YOUTH IS ALSO PROVIDED, AND PROJECTIONS ARE MADE ABOUT EMPLOYMENT IN THE FUTURE. IT WAS FOUND THAT AT LEAST 72,200 OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTHS HAVE JOB PROBLEMS. TEENAGERS AND SCHOOL DROPOUTS ARE MOST HEAVILY HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT, ESPECIALLY NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS. ALMOST HALF THE CITY'S YOUTH ENTERS THE JOB MARKET WITHOUT A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA. NONWHITES SHOW A POORER RECORD THAN WHITES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, EMPLOYMENT RATES, AND JOB LEVELS. A RISING YOUTH POPULATION AND A DECREASING LABOR MARKET FOR THE UNSKILLED AND UNDEREDUCATED POINTS TO FUTURE AGGRAVATION OF THIS PROBLEM. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FOR $1.00 FROM THE NEW YORK CITY YOUTH BOARD, 79 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016. (AF)

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YOUTH IN NEW YORK CITY:
OUT-OF-SCHOOL AND OUT-OF-WORK

A Study of Employment and Education
of Teenagers and Young Adults

REPORT OF THE MAYOR'S COMMITTEE
ON YOUTH AND WORK

NEW YORK CITY YOUTH BOARD

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New York City Youth Board

December, 1963

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STATEMENT OF THE MAYOR

December, 1963

If ever there was any doubt that a serious youth employment crisis exists in New York City, this report by the Mayor's Committee on Youth and Work should serve to dispel it.

The warnings implicit throughout the findings of the report are clear: If we do not act swiftly and decisively to improve the employment potential of our youngsters, the problem will grow to insurmountable levels.

Token gestures will not be enough, for when we deal with the youth unemployment situation we walk on a treadmill in which a slight reduction in the youth unemployment rate will be more than offset by the rise in the youth population and the resulting increase in the number of those out-of-school and out-of-work.

The inequities that exist in opportunities and employment levels of our Negro and Puerto Rican youths deserve the closest attention in the programs we develop.

Meanwhile, I wish to express my gratitude to the Committee and the Youth Board for this revealing report.

ROBERT F. WAGNER

Mayor

FOREWORD

From its inception in 1961 the Mayor's Task Force on Youth and Work was hampered by lack of information on the dimensions of the youth unemployment problem in New York City. That such a problem existed, and probably on a large scale, was known. But the definitive information necessary for planning was not available.

This Task Force is now known as the Mayor's Committee on Youth and Work.

The report, "Youth in New York City: Out-of-School and Out-of-Work" provides the factual knowledge needed by the Committee and by other planning groups concerned with our youth. It tells us how many young people 16-24 years of age are unemployed and not enrolled in school; it provides a picture of the school attainment of New York City's youth; it gives us a comparative picture of the school attainment and employment status of white and nonwhite youth.

These facts are presented against the background of the characteristics of the New York labor market along with some projections about the kinds of jobs that will be available during the coming years.

I regard the publication of this report not as an end but as a beginning—in the long and challenging task of ensuring maximum educational achievement and full employment of our young people. Some of the facts presented need further study and evaluation, but we now have enough information to say with assurance that New York has a major problem of youth unemployment, that the problem affects most seriously Negro and Puerto Rican youth and those young people who do not complete high school. I trust that this report will receive careful study by all interested groups and will serve as a springboard for programs of community action by governmental and voluntary agencies on the interrelated problems of education and employment.

ARTHUR J. ROGERS

Executive Director

New York City Youth Board

THE PROBLEM

To know the dimensions of a problem is always useful in helping to arrive at a solution. Concern with the problem of youth and work is, in the words of Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, "most meaningful to us if we simply recognize every instance of unemployment—and particularly, although not exclusively, in the case of a child, as outright human waste."

The broad participation of community leaders from almost every field on the Mayor's Committee on Youth and Work is testimony to the widely held belief that such "waste" is no longer tolerable and, indeed, represents a significant threat to the welfare of the nation.

The lack of availability of adequate data to define the magnitude of the problem has seriously impeded the development of policy and programs directed at dealing with the problems of young people in New York City and their work status.

Having worked closely with Mrs. Anita S. Vogel and Mrs. Mary Koval when they first started with this project and until it evolved to its present dimensions, I know what a great deal of thought and effort went into the preparation of this report.

This report provides the first current information on the overall magnitude of out-of-school and out-of-work youth in New York City. The data that have been developed will make a real contribution toward the solution of problems relating to unemployed youth in New York City.

Still ahead lies the task of providing the additional dimensions and details needed to round out our picture of out-of-school, out-of-work youth; the kinds of job opportunities that will be available to them in the years ahead, and the education and training required to prepare them to qualify for these opportunities.

HERBERT BIENSTOCK
Regional Director
Middle Atlantic Region
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Labor Statistics

STATEMENT BY THE MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON YOUTH AND WORK, NEW YORK CITY YOUTH BOARD

This is the first definitive study of the youth unemployment problem in New York City. Prior to the preparation of this report, widely varying estimates had been made of the number of youths out-of-school and out-of-work in New York. Now, for the first time, it is possible for us to say, with valid statistical data behind us, that there are more than 72,000 youths not enrolled in school and not working or holding part-time jobs.

The report validates some concerns long held by persons interested in the welfare of youth. Specifically, it shows that unemployment hits most heavily the adolescent group, Negro and Puerto Rican youths, and young people who have not completed high school. Since the number and percentage of nonwhite youth in New York City is steadily increasing, it seems to us of particular importance that the city government, voluntary agencies and the general citizenry be fully aware of the implications for the minority groups and the community of their comparatively low level of school attainment and their comparatively high level of unemployment. We wish to emphasize also the importance of the sizable group of young people not enrolled in school and not seeking work. It appears likely that many of these youngsters are drifting on a tide of discouragement and frustration. The very large number, 28,600, of such boys and young men requires further study to identify their problems and develop programs to solve them.

In conclusion, the report proves beyond a doubt that New York City has a massive and serious problem of youth unemployment. While the report offers certain recommendations for action, we believe that it should stimulate bold and imaginative planning of programs of youth employment, job upgrading and rehabilitation to arrest the damage that has already been done and to insure full and equal opportunity for the youth of New York City.

WALTER A. MILLER
Chairman
MRS. WILLIAM GREENBURG
Co-Chairman

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Eli E. Cohen, Executive Secretary, National Committee on Employment of Youth, whose competent direction and constant encouragement made it possible to write this report; Herbert Bienstock, Regional Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor; Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, Assistant Regional Director, Manpower and Employment Statistics, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Region; Miss Estelle Shrifte, Principal Economist, Research and Statistics Office, New York State Department of Labor, Division of Employment; Mrs. Marguerite H. Coleman, Supervisor of Special Placement Services, New York State Employment Service; Mrs. Carolyn P. Green, Consultant for Counseling and Youth Services, New York State Employment Service.

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HIGHLIGHTS

AT LEAST 72,200 OF NEW YORK CITY'S OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTHS HAVE JOB PROBLEMS. These youths, 16 to 24 years old, account for 13.2 per cent of the total out-of-school civilian population in that age group, or 18.6 per cent of the out-of-school labor force for that age span. They include many nonwhites, whose job problems far outrank those of white youths. In the job problem group are:

- 29,900 males and females who are unemployed and seeking work.
- 13,700 young men who hold only part-time jobs, although most would take full-time jobs if available.
- 28,600 young men who are completely idle but not seeking work. This group of youngsters, many of whom are unmotivated and discouraged, may well pose the most serious problem facing the Committee.

UNEMPLOYMENT HITS TEENAGERS AND SCHOOL DROPOUTS MOST HEAVILY, ESPECIALLY NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN YOUTHS. The unemployment rate for nonwhite 16-19-year-old teenagers (17.6 per cent) is more than twice that of white teenagers (8.2 per cent) and almost four times that of the adult labor force (4.8 per cent). The overall unemployment rate for youths 16 to 24 years old is 7.5 per cent.

ALMOST HALF OF THE CITY'S YOUTHS ENTER THE JOB MARKET WITHOUT A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA. Of the city's 571,300 out-of-school youths aged 14-24 listed in the 1960 census, 259,000, or 45.5 per cent, were dropouts (including 13,600 youths 14 and 15 years old).

NONWHITES HAVE A POORER RECORD THAN WHITES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, EMPLOYMENT RATES AND JOB LEVELS.

- Relatively more nonwhites are dropouts and fewer nonwhites go on to college.
- Thus nonwhite youths generally arrive on the labor market at earlier ages than do whites, lacking the schooling requirements needed for many jobs, before they begin to face the additional burden of discrimination in employment.

THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM WILL GET WORSE UNLESS EFFECTIVE STEPS ARE TAKEN TO HELP MASSIVE NUMBERS OF YOUTHS.

- The figures point to an increasing youth population, especially among Negroes and Puerto Ricans, with increasing numbers of youths seeking work and increasing numbers of school dropouts.

- At the same time, the demand for unskilled and undereducated youths in the labor force is decreasing; the demand for skilled and educated workers is rising.

A BROAD PROGRAM MUST BE STARTED TO PROVIDE MORE JOBS FOR THE CITY'S YOUTHS, ELIMINATE JOB DISCRIMINATION AND IMPROVE THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF ALL OUR YOUTHS.

NEW YORK CITY

New York City's youths must find their place in a mammoth, congested, shifting metropolis whose labor market has no parallel. Statistics are plentiful. Jobs are in short supply.

The city's three and a half million workers comprise 6.5 per cent of the nation's nonfarm work force.[1] But what is true for the nation is not necessarily true for New York: A smaller percentage of the city's work force is engaged in manufacturing than in the nation as a whole; wages have risen less in the city; population has declined.

Yet New York is still an important manufacturing center in the nation; wages in most of its industries are still higher than in the same industries elsewhere; its population in 1960 was still the highest for any city in the United States.

It is this world of superlatives and paradoxes in which our youths must make a living. Ironically, the statistical abundance has failed to provide a complete picture of the problems they face. Just how big the problems are and what shape they take we have attempted to find out and outline in this report.

[1] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Regional Office, *Special Regional Report: Employment, Earnings, and Wages, New York City, 1950-1960*, June, 1962.

Many questions had been raised: How many unemployed youths are there in New York? How many are school dropouts?[2] How much education have they had? What jobs can youths expect to fill?

In the course of its work to improve the preparation, training and job opportunities for the city's youth, the Mayor's Committee on Youth and Work had been plagued by the difficulty of finding answers to these questions—answers that are necessary to define the dimensions of the youth employment problem in the city and to determine the kinds of programs that are required to equip unemployed youth for productive citizenship.

A Panoramic View

To find out where youth stand in the economic life of New York, we must first take a panoramic look at the city's overall economy. Its lifeblood is unique. In 1960, nearly 7 out of 10 workers in the city were engaged in transportation, public utilities, trade, finance, government or other service-producing activities. This compared with 6 out of 10 for the nation as a whole.[3] Less than 27 per cent of the city's work force was engaged in manufacture—4 per cent less than the national average. But New York's 950,000 workers in this segment of the economy still topped by 100,000 the nearest manufacturing rival—Chicago.

Earnings

Wages in New York rose only 44 per cent from 1950 to 1960, compared with a 60 per cent gain for other metropolitan areas and an increase of 57 per cent for the nation.

The industries dominating the New York scene were generally the lower-paying ones—service-oriented occupations as a group pay lower wages than does manufacturing. Even within manufacturing, less than 3 per cent of the city's workers were in the nation's three top-ranking earnings groups—primary metals, transportation equipment, and petroleum refining. These groups accounted for 18 per cent of the nation's production workers. On the other hand, the three industry groups that are lowest on the national scale of earnings—textile, apparel and leather—accounted for 43 per cent of production jobs in New York, compared with only 18 per cent for the nation.

[2] School dropouts as used in this report refer to youths under 25 years not enrolled in school and who have not completed the twelfth grade.
[3] Same as footnote 1.

Within a given industry, however, the majority of the city's workers were comparatively well paid. In 1960, five out of eight of the city's workers were employed in industries whose hourly earnings exceeded their respective national averages by more than 10 cents. Apparel manufacturing, which employed more than a third of the city's production workers, averaged 35 per cent higher earnings in New York than in the nation as a whole.

Patterns of Growth

The movement out of the congested city into the suburbs has resulted in a slight decline in population (0.5 per cent) in New York City from 1950 to 1960, while the nation's population showed an 18.5 per cent increase. The city's employment total rose 1.5 per cent in this period, while nationwide nonfarm employment rose 20 per cent.

Immigration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans has somewhat offset the flight of New York City residents to the suburbs; these two groups, which accounted for 14 per cent of the city's population in 1950, comprised 22 per cent in 1960.[4]

The greatest growth in the size of the city's work force over the decade has been in finance, insurance and real estate and in the clerical and business services that tie in with their activities; the business services are provided by accountants, lawyers, engineers, architects and advertising and employment agencies, among others. Government, wholesale trade and contract construction have expanded modestly.

On the other hand, the number of employees in manufacturing, retail trade, transportation and public utilities was declining. The greatest single loss was in the apparel industry, where 70,000 fewer workers were employed in the city in 1960 than a decade earlier. This compared with a nationwide gain in apparel employment of nearly 75,000 workers from 1947 to 1960.[5]

Size of Firms[6]

Most of the plants that choose to remain in the crowded city are small establishments.[7] For these, the city offers advantages such as nearness and

[4] New York City Department of Labor, Division of Labor Research, *The Manpower Outlook in New York City, 1960-1970,* 1962, p. 14.
[5] Same as footnote 1.
[6] New York State Department of Labor, Division of Employment, Research and Statistics, Report of Employers covered by New York State Unemployment Insurance Law.
[7] For a discussion of the factors influencing growth and decline of industries in New York City, see *Anatomy of a Metropolis,* Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon, Harvard University Press, 1959.

variety of services that they cannot economically include in their own small operations and an opportunity to rent fractional space in buildings.

Records of the Division of Employment of the New York State Department of Labor reflect the overwhelming predominance of small plants among New York City's private employers.[8] Of the 218,600 employers in the city reporting under the state's unemployment insurance law in the first quarter of 1961, 96 per cent employed fewer than 50 workers. Forty-one per cent of all employees worked in plants employing 50 or less workers; 74 per cent worked in establishments with less than 500 workers. The average establishment had 13 workers.

The number of giant firms employing 1,000 or more workers decreased from 233 in 1948 to 216 in 1960. Overall, these big concerns now account for nearly 19 per cent of the jobs in the city. In finance, insurance, real estate and public utilities, less than 1 per cent of all the firms in the city accounted for more than 50 per cent of the workers in these fields in 1961.

EMPLOYMENT IN ESTABLISHMENTS COVERED BY NEW YORK STATE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE LAW—NEW YORK CITY
March 1961

Total number of establishments			218,600
Manufacturing (16%)	35,300		
Non-manufacturing (84%)	183,300		
Number of establishments with fewer than 50 workers			210,000
Manufacturing (90% of all manufacturing)	31,600		
Non-manufacturing (97% of all non-mfg)	178,500		
Number of employees			2,866,800
Average per firm	13		
Number in plants with: fewer than 50 workers		(41%)	1,175,800
fewer than 500 workers		(74%)	2,126,400
1,000 or more workers		(19%)	542,400

This proliferation of small employers in New York City is a severe handicap to any attempt to estimate job opportunities in the metropolis. An area skills survey covering so many small businesses is such a vast undertaking that no economist has yet been willing to tackle it. Labor market analysts contend that the results would be obsolete before they could be compiled and that the precarious financial condition of many small employers would make predictions based on such a survey of little value.

[8] New York State Department of Labor, Division of Employment, *Labor Market Letter, April, 1961,* and unpublished data from Research and Statistics Office.

Job Opportunities

Most opportunities for private employment are either with the very small firms or with the giant concerns. Not enough is known about jobs for youth in the small establishments, which account for nearly all of the city's private employers. But it is in these establishments that youths must find their place in the labor market.

It is a sprawling marketplace, accommodating 2,600,000 workers in non-manufacturing industries and more than 950,000 in manufacturing jobs in 1960. The workers outside the manufacturing field included 750,000 in wholesale and retail trade; 385,000 in finance, insurance and real estate; nearly 320,000 in transportation and public utilities, and 123,000 in contract construction.

It is a labor market with relatively low wages compared to the nation as a whole, but whose industries pay well in relation to the same industries in other places. It is characterized by relatively little total growth but by significant shifts over a decade from manufacturing to a service-oriented economy.

The service-oriented occupations that dominate the scene include a large proportion of clerical and professional services for which at least a high school education is a prerequisite.

In the pages that follow we shall attempt to give an accounting of New York City's youth population as of April, 1960—how many there were; what proportion of them were in school and what proportion at work; their rates of unemployment; how many were school dropouts; how much schooling they had completed—looking separately at the status of teenagers and older youths, males and females, white and nonwhite.

Sources

Our analysis of the situation of New York City's youths is based primarily on data from the following sources:

Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: Photostats in advance of publication of tables for New York City from U.S. Census of Population, 1960 Detailed Characteristics of Population.

Board of Education, City of New York, Bureau of Attendance: Reports for a five-year period concerning youths receiving employment certificates—the number of these youths, their educational attainment and the jobs for which the certificates were issued.

Board of Education, City of New York, Bureau of Educational Program Research and Statistics: Statistics including school enrollment, discharges and attendance at continuation schools.

Limitations of Data

The figures given in this report cannot be regarded as exact counts; they are estimates—probably low ones in many cases—based on the only comprehensive data available of the magnitude of New York's youth employment problem and the involvement in it of some of the ethnic components of New York City population.

In particular, we must point out the limitations of our dependence in such large measure on the 1960 census count. First, it is well known that the decennial census tends to understate the population, particularly in large cities. The post-enumeration studies of the 1950 census conducted by the Census Bureau identified a net undercoverage nationally of about 2,000,000 persons, about 1.4 per cent of the population. Based on a number of other analytical studies, the total net undercoverage in 1950 appears to have been substantially greater, amounting possibly to as much as 5,000,000. The 1950 census studies found that undercoverage tended to be somewhat greater than average among nonwhite persons and those of lower educational, economic and occupational status.[9] While final information is not yet available on the 1960 census, we can expect the tendency to hold true for the 1960 census as well.

As regards youth employment, the Introduction to the Summary Volume of the 1960 census states that figures on young people 14-17 years of age in the labor force were about 14 per cent below those of the Current Population Survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census. (It also notes that in the 1950 census the estimates for this age group were about 27 per cent below the Current Population Survey).[10]

With detailed characteristics of the census based on a 25 per cent sampling of population, responses to sample questionnaires were obviously more difficult to obtain in areas where language barriers and lack of education were prevalent. Problems in measurement of various social and economic characteristics are therefore apt to be intensified in the very sections of the city where youth unemployment would be greatest and educational attainment least.

[9] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Post Enumeration Studies,* 1957.
[10] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Summary Volume,* 1960.

The contrast among youths from different ethnic groups—regarding unemployment and educational attainment would doubtless be even greater than our figures indicate if separate data were available for Puerto Rican youths. We had separate information only for white and nonwhite portions of the youth population. Among New York City's nonwhite population, 2 per cent were Puerto Ricans, but in the white population they represented 9 per cent. According to the 1960 census, unemployment in the total male Puerto Rican labor force of New York City was 9.9 per cent, compared with 4.5 per cent for the white and 7.3 per cent for the Negro male labor force.

Furthermore, data available from the 1957 special census taken in New York City showed a youth unemployment pattern similar to the 1960 figures for Negro and white youths, and a far greater rate of unemployment for Puerto Rican youths than for either whites or Negroes.[11]

As for educational attainment, figures from the 1957 special census for youths 20-24 years of age show Puerto Ricans to have less schooling than either of the other groups.[12]

In all probability, therefore, the estimates we give in the following pages are conservative; moreover, lack of information for Puerto Ricans obscures the extent to which minority group youths are handicapped.

While we do not know how much greater the problems actually are, the number of individuals who have been kept from productive citizenship is of such magnitude that the Committee, along with all of New York's public officials and private citizens, faces a major challenge to improve the status of these youths.

Our figures deal exclusively with members of the civilian population residing in New York City. On census tables, members of the Armed Forces were counted among the labor force in a separate category. They have been excluded from our figures.

[11] New York State Department of Labor, Division of Employment, Bureau of Research and Statistics, *Teenagers and Young Adults—Their Work Experience, New York State and New York City, 1956-1957*, March, 1960, p. 12.
[12] Same as footnote 11.

YOUTHS WITH JOB PROBLEMS

From the maze of statistics, one harsh fact emerges: at least 72,200 of New York City's out-of-school youths 16 to 24 years old have job problems. They comprise 13.2 per cent of the total civilian out-of-school population in that age group, or 18.6 per cent of the out-of-school labor force. They include many nonwhites whose job problems far outrank those of whites. Here's the story:

Youth Population[13]

In 1960, there were 863,100 youths 16-24 years old in the civilian population of New York. They included 386,100 youths 16-19 years old and 477,000 youths 20-24 years old. Females outnumbered males. Whites comprised 84.4 per cent of the youth population, with nonwhites totaling 15.6 per cent.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION, 16-24 YEARS
NEW YORK CITY—1960

	Number	Per Cent of Civ. Pop.
Total Civilian Population, 16-24 years	863,100	
16-19 years	386,100	44.7
20-24 years	477,000	55.3
Male, 16-24 years	399,900	46.3
Female, 16-24 years	463,200	53.7
White, 16-24 years	728,800	84.4
Nonwhite, 16-24 years	134,300	15.6

Youths in the Labor Force[14]

Of the city's total civilian youth population, 495,800, or 57.4 per cent, were in the labor force—working or seeking work. These included 42.4 per cent of the 16-19 year olds and 69.3 per cent of the 20-24 year olds. The 57.4 per cent overall rate of youth in the labor force compared with a 60.3 per cent rate for persons 25 years of age or older.

[13] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 115: Employment Status by Age, Color and Sex for Counties of 250,000 or More.
[14] Same as footnote 13.

YOUTH POPULATION IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE
NEW YORK CITY—1960

AGE GROUPS:	Civilian Population	Civilian Labor Force	Civ. Lab. Force as % of Civ. Pop.
Total, 16-24 years	863,100	495,800	57.4
16-19 years	386,100	165,000	42.4
20-24 years	477,000	330,800	69.3
Total, 25 years and older	4,947,400	2,981,000	60.3
Male, 16-19 years	182,200	79,600	43.7
White	158,200	68,900	43.6
Nonwhite	24,000	10,700	44.6
Female, 16-19 years	203,900	85,400	41.9
White	174,100	75,100	43.1
Nonwhite	29,800	10,300	34.6

Youth Unemployment

Unemployment takes a heavy toll among youth in New York. Of the 495,800 youths 16 to 24 years old in the labor force, 37,000 were unemployed in 1960. Of these, 29,900 were not enrolled in school; 7,100 were students who were seeking part-time or full-time work.

UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, 16-24 YEARS
NEW YORK CITY—1960[15]

	Number	% of Civilian Labor Force
Civilian labor force, 16-24 years	495,800	100.0
Male	262,800	53.0
Female	233,000	47.0
White	420,500	84.8
Nonwhite	75,300	15.2
Not enrolled in school	388,800	78.4
Enrolled in School	107,000	21.6
Unemployed youths, 16-24 years	37,000	7.5
Not enrolled in school	29,900	6.0
Enrolled in school	7,100	1.4

Out of School, Out of Work

The 72,200 youths we list as having job problems are the more severe cases. All of these youths are out of school. They include the 29,900 youths (18,200 boys and 11,700 girls) who are unemployed and are actually seeking work, 13,700 males with only part-time jobs and 28,600 boys

[15] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 115: Employment Status by Age, Color and Sex for Counties of 250,000 or More. Estimates from Table 117: Employment Status and Hours Worked for Persons 14-34 Years Old, by School Enrollment, Age, Color and Sex, New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

who are completely idle but not seeking work. It is this latter group of youths—many of whom are unmotivated and discouraged—that may well pose the most serious problem facing the Committee.

We have not included in the job-problem category the 7,100 youths (4,600 boys and 2,500 girls) who are enrolled in school and have sought but failed to find work, because we are dealing here with out-of-school youths. Nor have we included 19,700 out-of-school girls with only part-time jobs or 127,700 out-of-school girls who are not looking for work; a large proportion of these girls are believed to be married, hence presumed not to be seeking full-time or part-time work.

Also omitted from the job-problem category are 4,100 out-of-school youths 14 and 15 years old who are idle or unemployed. These youths—all of whom should be in school—have serious school problems rather than job problems.

OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTHS WITH JOB PROBLEMS, 16-24 YEARS
NEW YORK CITY—1960[16]

Total civilian out-of-school population 16-24 years		545,000
Civilian out-of-school labor force 16-24 years		388,800
Males with job problems		60,500
Unemployed	18,200	
Employed part-time	13,700	
Not in labor force	28,600	
Females with job problems		11,700
Unemployed	11,700	
Total number of out-of-school youths 16-24 years with job problems		72,200
Per cent of out-of-school population	13.2%	
Per cent of out-of-school labor force	18.6%	

Pattern of Unemployment[17]

Youths in New York City have much more difficulty than adults in finding jobs. This holds true despite the fact that only 21 per cent of all the city's unemployed persons were 16-24 years old, compared with 33 per cent for this age group in the nation as a whole.

Of all the 16-24-year-old youths in the city's civilian labor force, both in and out of school, 7.5 per cent were unemployed, compared with

[16] Same as footnote 15.
[17] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 115: Employment Status by Age, Color and Sex for Counties of 250,000 or More, Table 102: Years of School Completed by Persons 14 to 24 Years Old, Not Enrolled in School, by Age, Color and Sex for Cities of 250,000 or More.

4.8 per cent of persons in the labor force who were 25 years old or more. And this youth unemployment rate does *not* include the out-of-school male youths 16 to 24 years old who are idle but not seeking work; if they were counted as part of the labor force, their ranks would increase the unemployment rate to 13.2 per cent.

Unemployment was much more severe among teenagers 16-19 years old (9.4 per cent) than in the 20-24-year-old group (6.5 per cent). It hit especially heavily the nonwhite 16-19 year-olds, among whom it was 17.6 per cent, almost four times that of the adult labor force and more than twice that of the white 16-19 year-olds (8.2 per cent).

The rate of unemployment for nonwhite 16-19-year-old males was 18.7 per cent and for females 16.5 per cent. Among white 16-19-year-olds, the situation was quite different: 10.6 per cent unemployment of males but only 5.9 per cent of females. Note the contrast in employment of girls: unemployment among nonwhite teenage females was nearly three times as high as among white females.

On the surface, we might consider that a major factor in the relative higher unemployment of nonwhite girls is their lesser schooling; only 50.9 per cent of the nonwhite girls finished high school, compared with 62.7 per cent of the white girls. But if inadequate schooling were the real explanation, nonwhite girls would be expected to fare far better in employment than nonwhite boys, of whom only 40.5 per cent finished high school. Actually, the girls' success in getting jobs was only slightly better than that of the nonwhite boys. The answer appears clear: discriminatory employment practices are severely handicapping nonwhite youths in their search for employment.

As youths get older, the rate of unemployment decreases and the discrepancy between unemployment of males and females and whites and nonwhites narrows, but the difference in unemployment rates between whites and nonwhites is still substantial: nonwhite youths 20-24 years old of both sexes had about the same rate of unemployment (10 per cent for males, 9.9 per cent for females); white males had a 6.7 per cent unemployment rate, and white females 4.7 per cent.

While separate data on Puerto Rican youths in the labor force were not available to us from the 1960 census, the special census taken in New York City in 1957 gives evidence that their difficulties are even greater than those of white and Negro youths. The trend has probably continued, since the 1957 pattern for white and Negro youths is similar to that of 1960:

"Among both teenagers and young adults, Puerto Ricans in New York City had a higher unemployment rate than either whites or nonwhites.

More than 20 per cent of the Puerto Rican teenagers were unemployed during the survey week, compared to 15 per cent of the nonwhite and 8 per cent of the white teenagers. Among persons in their early twenties, 15 per cent of the Puerto Ricans, compared to 9 per cent of the nonwhites and 4 per cent of the whites, were unemployed."[18]

UNEMPLOYMENT AS PER CENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY AGE GROUP, SEX, WHITE AND NONWHITE NEW YORK CITY—1960[19]

	Per Cent of Civilian Labor Force
Total unemployed, all ages	5.2
Unemployed, 25 years and older	4.8
Unemployed, 16-24 years	7.5
Unemployed, 16-19 years	9.4
White	8.2
Male	10.6
Female	5.9
Nonwhite	17.6
Male	18.7
Female	16.5
Unemployed, 20-24 years	6.5
White	5.8
Male	6.7
Female	4.7
Nonwhite	9.9
Male	10.0
Female	9.9
Unemployed, 25 years and older	4.8
White	4.5
Male	4.2
Female	5.2
Nonwhite	6.0
Male	5.9
Female	6.0

Part-Time Employment[20]

The substantial rate of out-of-school youths 18 years old and younger who were working less than full-time suggests that many may have taken part-time jobs because full-time ones were not available. The pattern was the same for whites and nonwhites of both sexes: 29.6 per cent of the out-

[18] Same as footnote 11.
[19] Same as footnote 13.
[20] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 117: Employment Status and Hours Worked for Persons 14-34 Years Old by School Enrollment, Age, Color and Sex, New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

of-school 16-year-olds who were at work held part-time jobs; 21.5 per cent of the 17-year-olds; 10.5 per cent of the 18-year-olds; slightly more than 8 per cent of 19- and 20-year-olds.[21]

Among the 20-year-old males who were out of school, less than 8 per cent were working part-time; the proportion continued to decline with increasing age.

It is safe to assume that the overwhelming majority of the 13,700 out-of-school male 16-24-year-olds with part-time jobs were not fully employed through no choice of their own. These must be included among the youths whose problems command the attention of the Committee.

Although some of these 13,700 youngsters might actually prefer part-time work, their number will doubtless be offset by some of the females who would work full-time if they could find such work. There is no way of estimating the number of females working part-time who were doing so not by choice but because of home responsibilities.

The Drifters[22]

Ironically, the core of the city's unemployed male youth who may be most in need of job help are not even registered officially as "unemployed." The reason: Even though they are not working, they are not considered part of the labor force because they are not actively seeking work; under the statistical reporting system used in the United States, only those in the labor force can be "unemployed."

In 1960, there were 28,600 such youths, 16-24 years old, who were out of school and idle but not looking for work. They comprised 11.8 per cent of all the out-of-school white males in their age group and 16.0 per cent of the nonwhite males. More than 14,000 were 16-19 years old, while 14,500 were 20-24 years old. (An additional 4,100 males 14 and 15 years old were out of school and not seeking work, although the laws provide that they be in school).

In the absence of additional information, it is difficult to account for this large group of young men. Some of them may be awaiting induction in the armed forces or involved with corrective, protective, handicapped,

[21] Percentages were calculated for the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, which includes Nassau, Rockland, Suffolk and Westchester Counties as well as the five counties of New York City. These were the only census data available on part-time employment. Since the New York City population is 88 per cent of the metropolitan area, the relationships would be substantially the same if New York City were considered separately.

[22] Same as footnote 15.

physical health or mental health services. The Selective Service System indicated about 3,000 registrants[23] in the New York City manpower pool who were physically qualified and available for immediate induction order.

There is no way of accounting for the absence of the remaining youngsters from the labor force, but it is fair to assume that a substantial proportion were unmotivated discouraged youths who had given up seeking work —the idle, aimless drifters whom Dr. James B. Conant has labeled "social dynamite."

EDUCATION AND YOUTH

Almost half of New York City's youngsters enter the job market without a high school diploma in hand, often posing a serious problem in their search for work.

Out-of-School Youth[24]

Of the city's 557,700 out-of-school youths aged 16-24 in 1960, a total of 246,800, or 44.3 per cent, had not finished high school. Relatively

OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH WHO HAVE NOT COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL
NEW YORK CITY—1960[25]

	Number Out of School	Number Who Did Not Finish High School	Per Cent of Those Out of School
Total, whites and nonwhites			
16-19	157,200	82,700	52.6
20-24	400,500	164,100	41.0
16-24	557,700	246,800	44.3
Whites			
16-19	130,200	66,600	51.1
20-24	326,300	126,000	38.6
16-24	456,500	192,600	42.2
Nonwhites			
16-19	27,000	16,200	60.0
20-24	74,200	38,100	51.3
16-24	101,200	54,300	53.7

[23] Information from Selective Service System, New York City Headquarters, April 1960.
[24] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 102: Years of School Completed by Persons 14 to 24 Years Old, Not Enrolled in School by Age, Color and Sex for Cities of 250,000 or More.
[25] Same as footnote 24.

more nonwhites than whites in this age group failed to get high school diplomas—53.7 per cent of the nonwhite youngsters, compared with 42.2 per cent of the white youths.

The contrast in schooling between white and nonwhite youths would be even more striking if figures had been available separately for Puerto Ricans, 96 per cent of whom were counted among the white population.

Girls stay in school longer than boys in each age group, although here, too, the length of schooling differs according to race. In the overall 16-24 age group, for example, 49.1 per cent of the nonwhite girls who were out of school had not graduated from high school, compared with 59.5 per cent of the nonwhite boys in this category. Among the out-of-school white girls, only 37.3 per cent had failed to graduate, compared with 48.8 per cent of the white boys.

When we consider separately the 157,200 out-of-school youths in the 16-19 age group, educational attainment drops to levels far lower than for the 20-24 age group. A total of 82,700, or 52.6 per cent of the younger out-of-school group, failed to finish high school, compared with 41.0 per cent of the older group. A much greater proportion of boys than girls were nongraduates in the 16-19 out-of-school group, and within each sex a much greater proportion of nonwhites than whites missed out on diplomas.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MALE AND FEMALE OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTHS NEW YORK CITY—1960[26]

	Number Out of School	Number Who Did Not Finish High School	Per Cent of Those Out of School
YOUTHS, 14-24 YEARS:	571,300	259,900	45.5
YOUTHS, 16-24 YEARS:			
All youths	557,700	246,800	44.3
Male	236,100	119,800	50.7
White	193,600	94,500	48.8
Nonwhite	42,500	25,300	59.5
Female	321,600	127,000	39.5
White	262,700	98,100	37.3
Nonwhite	58,900	28,900	49.1
YOUTHS, 16-19 YEARS:			
All youths	157,200	82,700	52.6
Male	65,400	40,400	61.8
White	54,000	32,800	60.8
Nonwhite	11,400	7,600	66.7
Female	91,800	42,300	46.1
White	76,000	33,800	44.5
Nonwhite	15,800	8,500	53.8

[26] Same as footnote 25.

The figures for 20-24-year-olds show that the percentage of out-of-school whites (19.7 per cent) who had achieved an educational level beyond high school was nearly two and one-half times that of nonwhites (8.1 per cent).[27]

One problem unearthed by the 1960 census was the fact that 13,600 youths 14 and 15 years of age were counted among the 571,300 out-of-school youths. The law requires all youths to remain in school until age 16 unless adjudged mentally or physically incapable of further education. The New York City Board of Education lists less than 2,500 youngsters of all ages discharged for this reason each year. The census figures indicated that several thousand 14 and 15-year-olds have been evading school altogether.

Youths in School[28]

A total of 311,900 youths 16-24 years of age was enrolled in school in 1960, compared with 557,700 who were out of school. The in-school group represented 35.9 per cent of the total population 16-24 years old. For the teenage group, the enrollment percentage (59.5 per cent) was, as expected, far greater than for the 20-24-year-old group (16.8 per cent).

As with the out-of-school group, a big gap was evident in the enrollment of white and nonwhite youths: 37.8 per cent of the white population 16-24 years old was enrolled in school, compared with only 25.6 per cent of the nonwhite population.

Among 20-24-year-olds, the per cent of school enrollees for the white population (18.4 per cent) was more than double that of the nonwhite group (9.0 per cent). The contrast is even sharper when the comparison is made only for males: 25.4 per cent of white males in school, compared with 10.6 per cent of the nonwhite males.

The sum of these statistics means that nonwhite youths generally arrive on the labor-market scene at earlier ages than do whites, lacking the schooling requirements needed for many jobs, before they begin to face the additional burden of discriminatory hiring practices.

[27] Same as footnote 25.

[28] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 101: Year of School in Which Enrolled for Persons 5 to 34 Years Old, by Age, Color and Sex for Cities of 250,000 or More, Table 102: Years of School Completed by Persons 14 to 24 Years Old, Not Enrolled in School, by Age, Color and Sex for Cities of 250,000 or More.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF YOUTHS
NEW YORK CITY—1960[29]

	Population	No. Enrolled	% of Pop.
16-24 YEARS OLD	869,600	311,900	35.9
Whites	733,600	277,100	37.8
Males	347,000	153,400	44.2
Females	386,600	123,700	32.0
Nonwhites	136,000	34,800	25.6
Males	59,200	16,700	28.2
Females	76,800	18,100	23.6
16-19 YEARS OLD	388,100	230,900	59.5
Whites	333,600	203,400	61.0
Males	159,800	105,800	66.2
Females	173,800	97,600	56.2
Nonwhites	54,500	27,500	50.5
Males	24,400	13,000	53.3
Females	30,100	14,500	48.2
20-24 YEARS OLD	481,500	81,000	16.8
Whites	400,000	73,700	18.4
Males	187,200	47,600	25.4
Females	212,800	26,100	12.3
Nonwhites	81,500	7,300	9.0
Males	34,800	3,700	10.6
Females	46,700	3,600	7.7

Education and Work

How does educational attainment affect a youngster's success in finding work?

To find out, we compared the educational attainment of all out-of-school youths 16 and 17 years old in 1960 with that of youths in the same age group who had full-time jobs.[30] (All youths 16 and 17 years old must obtain employment certificates from the Board of Education's Bureau of Attendance before they can legally hold jobs).

The census figures showed that 27.3 per cent of all the out-of-school youths in that age group had high school diplomas. According to the Bureau of Attendance figures, 60.2 per cent of the youths who had obtained full-time employment certificates came from the relatively small group that had diplomas. The 72.7 per cent of the out-of-school youths who had not completed high school got only 39.8 per cent of the jobs.

The conclusion is clear: A great disparity exists between the job-finding success of high school graduates and those who have dropped out before getting their diplomas.

[29] Same as footnote 28.
[30] Same as footnote 28 and New York City Board of Education, Bureau of Attendance, "Periodic Report on Employment Certificates Issued," July 1956-August 1961.

Dropouts appear to be having increasing difficulties in finding work. While the proportion of full-time employment certificates issued to high school graduates rose in the five-year period from September, 1956, to August, 1961, the proportion of certificates issued to dropouts declined. Fluctuations in the number of certificates issued during the period were attributed mainly to the level of total employment in the city; despite these fluctuations, the percentage of certificates that went to dropouts showed an almost steady downward trend.

NUMBER OF STANDARD, FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES ISSUED TO YOUTHS, 16-17 YEARS, NEW YORK CITY 9/56-8/57—9/60-8/61[31]

Year	No. of Cert. Issued	Per Cent Issued to Dropouts
9/56-8/57	35,442	49.5
9/57-8/58	31,114	47.9
9/58-8/59	35,163	44.8
9/59-8/60	40,747	39.8
9/60-8/61	34,292	40.1

WHERE THEY'RE WORKING

Six out of 10 youths employed in New York City hold white-collar jobs, mainly doing clerical work. Three of the 10 are in the so-called blue-collar field, mostly as semi-skilled operators rather than as craftsmen or laborers. One out of ten is a service worker, ranging from a private household employee or janitor to a barber or policeman.

These are the "average" figures for all youths 14-24 years old. A more detailed picture, however, reveals some major variations—and social ills—in the occupations held by whites and nonwhites, males and females and by the various age groups.

For example, the proportion of white youths holding white-collar jobs (64.6 per cent) is almost twice that of the nonwhite youths (36.6 per cent). And as we go beyond the "youth" category into the 25-and-older group, the white-collar gap becomes even wider.

We will take a closer look at these and other variations later in this chapter.

[31] Same as footnote 30.

Employment in Nonagricultural Groups by Color and Age
New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area
1960[32]

Occupational Group	PER CENT EMPLOYED IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP Youths, 14-24 Years			Adults, 25 Years and Over		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
Total Employed (in thousands)	538.4	470.8	67.7	3,533.7	3,133.4	400.3
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar:	61.0	64.6	36.6	51.9	55.2	26.4
Professional	11.3	12.2	5.5	13.6	14.4	6.8
Managerial	2.5	2.7	1.0	11.7	12.7	3.7
Clerical	39.9	41.9	26.1	18.4	19.2	13.4
Sales	7.3	7.8	4.0	8.2	8.9	2.5
Blue Collar:	29.3	27.9	39.3	35.0	34.3	40.0
Craftsmen	7.3	7.5	5.0	12.9	13.6	7.3
Operatives	17.8	16.4	28.5	18.7	17.7	26.0
Laborers	4.2	4.0	5.8	3.4	3.0	6.7
Service:	9.7	7.5	24.1	13.1	10.5	33.6
Household	2.2	1.1	9.0	2.5	1.1	13.1
Other Service	7.5	6.4	15.1	10.6	9.4	20.5

Employment in Nonagricultural Groups by Age and Sex
New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area
1960[33]

Occupational Group	PER CENT EMPLOYED IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP Youths, 14-24 Years			Adults, 25 Years and Over		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total Employed (in thousands)	538.4	282.5	256.1	3,533.7	2,377.5	1,156.2
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar:	61.0	47.1	76.5	51.9	48.1	59.8
Professional	11.3	10.3	12.5	13.6	13.7	13.3
Managerial	2.5	3.7	1.1	11.7	15.1	4.7
Clerical	39.9	23.9	57.7	18.4	10.6	34.8
Sales	7.3	9.2	5.2	8.2	8.7	7.0
Blue Collar:	29.3	44.2	12.9	35.0	41.2	22.2
Craftsmen	7.3	13.1	0.7	12.9	18.5	1.5
Operatives	17.8	23.4	11.8	18.7	17.8	20.4
Laborers	4.2	7.7	0.4	3.4	4.9	0.3
Service:	9.7	8.7	10.6	13.1	10.7	18.0
Household	2.2	0.2	4.3	2.5	0.2	7.1
Other Service	7.5	8.5	6.3	10.6	10.5	10.9

[32] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 123: Age of Employed Persons by Occupation, Color and Sex, New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.
[33] Same as footnote 32.

The Young Ones

The jobs many youngsters first dream about are often the ones they never get, for the occupations they aspire to require experience and training that many still lack by the time they enter the world of work. A high degree of reality, however, is shown by youngsters on the threshold of work regarding the jobs they may actually be able to find.

The table below shows that young men under 18 years old generally seek and are employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in roles as general office help, general operatives in manufacturing (bench or assembly workers), laborers, packers, shippers, salesmen, kitchen workers, waiters, busboys, mechanic's aides, repairmen, truck drivers' helpers and general service and domestic workers.

OCCUPATIONS EMPLOYING LARGE NUMBERS OF
MALE YOUTHS UNDER 18 YEARS
NEW YORK CITY[34]

U.S. CENSUS 1960 Occupations of Employed Youths 14-17 Years	BOARD OF EDUCATION Occupations of Applicants for Full-time Working Papers, 16-17 Years
Misc. Clerical Worker	Office Clerk
Salesman	Delivery or Errand Boy
Laborer	General or Bench Worker
Truck Driver's Helper	Telephone Messenger
General Service Worker	Packer or Shipper
Waiter and Counter Worker	Salesperson
Packer or Wrapper	Kitchen Worker or Busboy
Attendants, Parking and Auto Service	Counter or Curb Worker
Porters, Janitors, etc.	Mechanic's Aide or Repairman
Mechanics and Repairmen	Camp Counselor
Apprentice	Office Appliance Operator
Assembler	Truck Driver's Helper
Private Household Worker	Domestic Worker
	Hospital Worker

As shown below, girls under 18 more often get their first jobs in clerical occupations—as general office clerks, typists, stenographers, telephone operators, secretaries and office-machine operators. They also find jobs as salesgirls, hairdressers, household workers, operators, cashiers, waitresses, recreation workers and general service workers.

[34] Left table same as footnote 32. Right Table New York City Board of Education, Bureau of Attendance, "Periodic Report on Employment Certificates Issued," July 1956-August 1961, an average based on reports for 5 years.

Occupations Employing Large Numbers of Female Youths Under 18 Years New York City[35]

U.S. CENSUS 1960 Occupations of Employed Youths 14-17 Years	BOARD OF EDUCATION Occupations of Applicants for Full-time Working Papers, 16-17 Years
General Clerical	Office Clerk
Salesgirl	Stenographer
Typist	Telephone Operator
Private Household Worker	Salesperson
Secretary	Domestic Worker
Operative-Manufacturing	General Operative and Bench Worker
Cashier	Office Appliance Operator
Telephone Operator	Camp Counselor
Waitress, Counter Worker	Office Messenger
Stenographer	Counter, Curb, Table Waitress
General Service	Packer or Shipper
Hospital Attendant	Hospital Worker
Student Nurse	Cashier
Social Welfare and Recreation Worker	Bus Girl
Laundry Worker	Beauty Parlor
	Cleaning and Dyeing

The Older Ones

In the adult group—25 years and older—occupational patterns differ somewhat than those for the younger set. A greater percentage of adult males works with white-collar circuit. The adult female work force, depleted by marriage, fills more of a blue-collar role (garment-industry work, for example).[36]

The job differences are even more pronounced for the older nonwhites. While 36.6 per cent of the 14-24-year-old nonwhites are in the white-collar category, only 26.4 per cent are so listed among the 25-and-older group. At the same time, the percentage of nonwhites in the "service" field is far higher for adults (33.6 per cent) than for youths (24.1 per cent).[37]

White-Collar Work[38]

Of the 538,400 youths employed in the New York City area, 61 per cent held white-collar jobs, mostly clerical and with females predominating.

[35] Same as footnote 34.
[36] See table p. 20.
[37] See table p. 20.
[38] U. S., Bureau of Census, *Detailed Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 123: Age of Employed Persons by Occupation, Color and Sex, New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. *General Social and Economic Characteristics of Population: New York—1960*, Table 76: Income in 1959 of Families and Persons and Weeks Worked in 1959, New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

White-collar work, which involves mental duties more than physical duties, has increased 25 per cent in the nation between 1950 and 1960 and is expected to increase 30 per cent more by 1970.[39] The distribution of the white-collar force in New York City has been following a somewhat similar pattern.

Although the number of nonwhites holding white-collar jobs has been gradually increasing, they still remain underrepresented in this field. And besides the racial gap in the overall white-collar field, there is a significant difference in the types of jobs held by whites and nonwhites within the field itself. This difference is related partly to the sharp difference noted in the percentage of white and nonwhite youths who graduate from high school and partly to discrimination in hiring and training.

EMPLOYMENT IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, SEX AND COLOR
NEW YORK STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA
(Per cent of Total Employed)
1960[40]

Occupational Group	PER CENT EMPLOYED IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP					
	14-19 Years		20-24 Years		25 Years and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Both Sexes:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	66.2	39.0	63.7	35.6	55.2	26.4
Professional	4.9	3.1	16.3	6.5	14.4	6.8
Managerial	0.6	0.5	3.9	1.2	12.7	3.7
Clerical	49.1	29.4	37.9	24.7	19.2	13.4
Sales	11.6	6.0	5.6	3.2	8.9	2.5
Male:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	49.7	35.6	49.0	29.5	50.4	25.6
Professional	3.8	1.5	14.9	4.7	14.6	5.5
Managerial	1.2	1.0	5.4	1.8	16.0	5.5
Clerical	30.6	26.5	20.9	19.9	10.4	12.1
Sales	14.1	6.6	7.8	3.1	9.4	2.5
Female:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	82.0	42.6	81.6	41.8	65.7	27.4
Professional	5.9	4.5	18.1	8.2	14.2	8.6
Managerial	0.1	0.2	2.0	0.4	5.3	1.5
Clerical	66.7	32.3	58.6	29.9	38.4	14.8
Sales	9.3	5.6	2.9	3.3	7.8	2.5

Clerical Jobs—Clerical occupations offer the greatest job opportunities for the city's youths. Of all the youths aged 14-24 employed in the city, 39.9 per cent held clerical jobs in 1960. The clerical force represented

[39] U. S. Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President, and A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization and Training,* transmitted to Congress, March, 1963.
[40] Same as footnote 32.

23.9 per cent of the employed male youths and 57.7 per cent of the females. An increasing volume of communications and record-keeping is expected to provide a continuing demand for clerical workers, but the extent to which this demand may be offset by labor-saving devices is not known.[41]

The proportion of nonwhite workers holding clerical jobs doubled during the last decade. Nevertheless, the percentage of white female teenagers holding clerical jobs (66.7 per cent) is still double the percentage for nonwhite females (32.3 per cent)[42]; this disparity narrows somewhat in the 20-24-year age group but becomes even more severe in the 25-and-older group, in which fewer nonwhite women are found in the white-collar field and more are found in "service" occupations, mainly household work.

Among male teenagers, the proportion of whites and nonwhites in the clerical field is fairly close (30.6 per cent for whites and 26.5 per cent for nonwhites). This gap narrows further in the 20-24-year group. But in the 25-and-older group, proportionately more nonwhites (12.1 per cent) than whites (10.4 per cent) are doing clerical work. The reason: Relatively more adult white males hold professional and managerial jobs, leaving proportionately more adult nonwhite males in the clerical field.[43]

Professional and Managerial Jobs—Professional work, mainly teaching, accounts for the second largest group of youths employed in the white-collar category. Slightly more than one out of ten (11.3 per cent) of all the youths working in the city are in the professional field.

But here, again, the "average" tends to conceal the big discrepancy between whites and nonwhites employed as professionals. Relatively twice as many white than nonwhite youths hold professional jobs (12.2 per cent against 5.5 per cent).[44]

Few teenagers, of course, are in the professional category (4.9 per cent of the whites against 3.1 per cent of the nonwhites). Many young adults (20-24 years old) join the professional ranks, accounting for 16.3 per cent of all working whites and 6.5 per cent of the nonwhites in that age group. The racial gap narrows slightly in the 25-and-older group—14.4 per cent of whites, 6.8 per cent of nonwhites—but a two-to-one difference still prevails.[45]

[41] See table p. 20.
[42] See table p. 23.
[43] Same as footnote 42.
[44] See table p. 20.
[45] See table p. 23.

Professional jobs appear to hold the best opportunities for future job seekers, but education and training would have to be extended to far more youths before enough of them could qualify for work in the field.

A growth in the number of managerial openings also is expected as the trend toward the formation of larger businesses continues. The managerial field, which also is marked by racial disparity, accounted for 2.5 per cent of the city's working youths 14 to 24 years old in 1960 (2.7 per cent of whites, 1.0 per cent of nonwhites). In the 25-and-older age group, 12.7 per cent of the whites held managerial jobs, compared with 3.7 per cent of the nonwhites.[46]

Sales Jobs—Of the city's employed youths, 7.3 per cent hold sales jobs—7.8 per cent of the white youths and 4.0 per cent of the nonwhites.[47] The selling field provides many opportunities for teenagers, employing 11.6 per cent of the working white teenagers and 6.0 per cent of the nonwhites. For the 20-24-year-old group, the proportion of the work force in this field declines by about half both for whites and nonwhites, accounting for 5.6 per cent of whites and 3.2 per cent of nonwhites aged 20-24. For the 25-and-over group, however, the figure rises to 8.9 per cent for whites while it declines further, to 2.5 per cent, for nonwhites.[48]

Blue-Collar Work[49]

After white-collar work, blue-collar jobs provide the most opportunities for the city's youths—29.3 per cent of the employed youths were working in blue-collar jobs, mainly as semi-skilled operators.[50] The proportion of all workers in most of the blue-collar jobs has decreased in the last decade and is expected to recede further as white-collar work expands.

Overall, the level of educational attainment of the blue-collar workers is lower than the level for the white-collar force. And in each age group—teens, young adults and adults—larger proportions of nonwhites were employed in the blue-collar occupations.

Within the overall blue-collar field, however, the proportion of whites in the craftsmen category outnumbered the proportion of nonwhites for each group. The nonwhites led in the semi-skilled-operator category and in the laborer group.

[46] See table p. 20.
[47] Same as footnote 46.
[48] See table p. 23.
[49] Same as footnote 38. Table 124: Earnings in 1959 of Persons in the Civilian Labor Force, by Occupation, Color and Sex, New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.
[50] Same as footnote 46.

Relatively more older workers are in the blue-collar field, with the percentage of white women 25 and over (21.5 per cent) being considerably higher than the percentage of white teenage females (9.6 per cent) in this field. Among nonwhite females, 25.6 per cent of the 25-and-over group are in the blue-collar field, compared with 25.5 per cent of the teenagers.

EMPLOYMENT IN BLUE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, SEX AND COLOR
NEW YORK STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA
(PER CENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED)
1960[51]

Occupational Group	PER CENT EMPLOYED IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP					
	14-19 Years		20-24 Years		25 Years and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Both Sexes:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	66.2	39.0	63.7	35.6	55.2	26.4
Blue Collar	25.0	36.8	29.5	40.2	34.3	40.0
Craftsmen	4.2	3.3	9.4	5.6	13.6	7.3
Operatives	15.7	27.5	16.7	28.8	17.7	26.0
Laborers	5.1	6.0	3.4	5.8	3.0	6.7
Male:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	49.7	35.6	49.0	29.5	50.4	25.6
Blue Collar	41.0	49.5	44.1	53.8	40.2	51.4
Craftsmen	8.0	5.7	16.5	10.4	19.2	12.1
Operatives	23.1	32.1	21.6	33.0	16.8	27.8
Laborers	9.9	11.5	6.0	10.4	4.2	11.5
Female:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	82.0	42.6	81.6	41.8	65.7	27.4
Blue Collar	9.6	25.5	11.7	26.2	21.5	25.6
Craftsmen	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.6	1.2
Operatives	8.6	24.0	10.8	24.6	19.7	23.7
Laborers	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.8	0.2	0.7

Craftsmen—Although a smaller proportion of nonwhite workers were craftsmen, or skilled workers, the proportion of nonwhite craftsmen increased in the last decade and the proportion of white craftsmen declined. A sizable racial gap still exists and is more pronounced in the adult group: 4.2 per cent of working whites in the teenage group and 13.6 per cent of the whites 25 and over are skilled craftsmen; the corresponding figures for nonwhites are 3.3 per cent and 7.3 per cent. Very few women are employed as craftsmen.

The job-opportunity outlook for craftsmen is the brightest of all blue-collar categories. Increased employment of mechanics, repairmen and skilled building-trade and metal workers will account for most of the growth

[51] Same as footnote 32.

in this group. But, once again, the jobs will be open only to those limited numbers of youths who have the proper education and training.

Operators—Most of the youths employed in the blue-collar field perform semi-skilled work as operators. Of all the youths working in the New York City area, 17.8 per cent are in this semi-skilled group—16.4 per cent of the whites and 28.5 per cent of the nonwhites.[52]

The proportion of both white and nonwhite males holding semi-skilled jobs is smaller for adults than for teens. Relatively far more adult white women are in this field, including many who work as machine operators in the apparel industry, one of the city's major industries.

The operative, or semi-skilled, group is expected to have a slower than average rate of job growth in the future as a result of increasing automation.

Laborers—Jobs as laborers provide the most, although limited, opportunities for youths from minority groups and those without training. Future job opportunities in this field, which is characterized by low rates of income and high rates of unemployment, are expected to shrink as manual labor is supplanted more and more by power-driven equipment.

Among employed male teenagers, 9.9 per cent of the whites and 11.5 per cent of the nonwhites were working as unskilled laborers in 1960. In the older age groups, the figure is substantially lower for the whites—6.0 per cent for the young-adult group (20-24 years old) and 4.2 per cent for the adult group. But it remains nearly unchanged for the older nonwhites—10.4 per cent for young adults and 11.5 per cent for adults. These figures indicate the inability of many nonwhite males, for whatever reason, to progress to other jobs after having taken entry jobs as laborers.

Service Work[53]

Service occupations, in which skills or training required vary widely from none whatever to fairly high levels, employ 9.7 per cent of the city's working youths. The proportion of nonwhite youths 14-24 years old, in this field (24.1 per cent) was more than three times that of white youths (7.5 per cent).[54] Median wages paid to nonwhites in the service category were considerably below those paid to whites, indicating that the nonwhites were working mainly in the unskilled range of the service spectrum. The broad range includes janitors, laundry workers, cooks, waiters, household

[52] See table p. 20.
[53] Same as footnote 49.
[54] See table p. 20.

workers, cleaning women, baby sitters, barbers, beauticians, hospital attendants, elevator operators, policemen, firemen and F.B.I. agents, among many others.

Nonwhite females dominate the household-work field, which offers little job security or income and calls for the lowest level of educational attainment. The older nonwhites rely heavily on household work—17.0 per cent of the working nonwhite female teenagers are household workers; 18.1 per cent of the young adults (20-24 years old) and 28.2 per cent of the adults. Only 3.1 per cent of the white female teenagers are household workers; 1.7 per cent of the young adults and 3.3 per cent of the adults. Thus, in the adult years, proportionately eight times more nonwhite women than white women are doing household work.

Among the males, the discrepancy between whites and nonwhites in service jobs widens with each advancing age group. Among nonwhites, 14.9 per cent of the working teenagers hold service jobs; 16.7 per cent of the young adults and 23.0 per cent of the adults. Among the whites, 9.3 per cent of the teenagers hold service jobs; 6.9 per cent of the young adults and 9.4 per cent of the adults.

EMPLOYMENT IN SERVICE OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, SEX AND COLOR
NEW YORK STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA
(Per cent of Total Employed)
1960[55]

Occupational Group	PER CENT EMPLOYED IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP					
	14-19 Years		20-24 Years		25 Years and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Both Sexes:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	66.2	39.0	63.7	35.6	55.2	26.4
Blue Collar	25.0	36.8	29.5	40.2	34.3	40.0
Service	8.8	24.2	6.8	24.2	10.5	33.6
Household	1.8	9.3	0.8	9.0	1.1	13.1
Other Service	7.0	14.9	6.0	15.2	9.4	20.5
Male:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	49.7	35.6	49.0	29.5	50.4	25.6
Blue Collar	41.0	49.5	44.1	53.8	40.2	51.4
Service	9.3	14.9	6.9	16.7	9.4	23.0
Household	0.5	—	—	0.4	0.1	1.2
Other Service	8.9	14.9	6.9	16.3	9.3	21.8
Female:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	82.0	42.6	81.6	41.8	65.7	27.4
Blue Collar	9.6	25.5	11.7	26.2	21.5	25.6
Service	8.4	31.9	6.7	32.0	12.8	47.0
Household	3.1	17.0	1.7	18.1	3.3	28.2
Other Service	5.3	14.9	5.0	13.9	9.5	18.8

[55] Same as footnote 32.

Quality and Inequality

A comprehensive look at the various occupational categories shows time and again the discrepancies in employment that exist between whites and nonwhites. The facts are clear: White youths get more higher-quality, higher-paying jobs than nonwhites. And in the older age groups, the gap is even wider. The inequalities that exist in employment coincide with similar inequalities in educational attainment.

TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

We have described the population, unemployment, educational achievement and employment of the city's youths, based mainly on the 1960 census. What of the present and the future?

First, we must reiterate that the census figures probably underestimate the extent of youth unemployment. And from all available evidence, it appears that the rate of youth unemployment in the city is now at least the same as in 1960, possibly higher.

Even if the unemployment rate were unchanged from 1960, the actual number of unemployed youths would be higher today as a result of a steady increase in the youth population. Birth rates in the city have risen sharply since 1940, so that while the city's total population has declined slightly in the decade from 1950 to 1960, the percentage of youths under 25 has increased.

A further growth is anticipated in the number of young workers who will be entering the labor force. By 1970, it is expected that 1 out of 5 members of the city's labor force will be under 25 years old, compared with 1 out of 7 in 1960.[56]

The growth in the youth labor force is expected to be greatest among nonwhites and Puerto Ricans.

The rise in the ranks of working-aged youths has been partially offset by the fact that some youngsters are staying in school longer. In New York City, the Board of Education indicated a trend toward a lower percentage of dropouts. Nevertheless, this trend was not enough to counterbalance rising enrollments, so that the actual numbers of such dropouts have increased.

[56] New York City Department of Labor, Division of Labor Research, *The Manpower Outlook in New York City, 1960-1970*, 1962.

Population, 15-24 Years by Sex and Ethnic Group 1960 and Projected 1965, 1970 and 1975 New York City[57]

Sex and Ethnic	Population in Thousands: Actual 1960	Projected 1965	Projected 1970	Projected 1975	Per Cent Increase 1975/1960
Both Sexes:					
Total	969	1,062	1,172	1,282	32.3
White	703	784	826	858	22.1
Nonwhite	151	162	210	257	70.2
Puerto Rican	115	116	136	167	45.2
Male:					
Total	457	525	593	649	42.0
White	336	391	420	436	29.8
Nonwhite	67	78	104	128	91.0
Puerto Rican	54	56	69	85	57.4
Female:					
Total	512	537	579	633	23.6
White	367	393	406	422	15.0
Nonwhite	84	84	106	129	53.6
Puerto Rican	61	60	67	82	34.4

In the face of the growing number of untrained youths entering the job market, drastic changes are taking place in the city's job picture that will serve to accentuate rather than alleviate the situation:

Professional, technical and skilled-job openings are expected to continue to increase at a rapid pace during the sixties while opportunities for semi-skilled and unskilled work continue to decline. There will be 115,000 to 135,000 more white-collar jobs, with the greatest gains among professional and technical positions (75,000 to 80,000) and clerical jobs (35,000 to 40,000). An increase of 15,000 to 20,000 is predicted in service occupations. Manual occupations are expected to show a decrease of 45,000 to 60,000, with a decline of 70,000 to 80,000 in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs being partially offset by an increase of 20,000 to 25,000 in skilled jobs.[58]

In a labor force with an increasing percentage of youths, the largest influx will be youths from minority groups who, as we have noted, have had less training, less work experience and less opportunity for employment than white youths.

[57] Actual figures from U. S., Bureau of Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics of Population: New York—1960,* New York City. Projections based on simple aging of population already born and resident in New York City during the 1960 census. If net in-migration were to be taken into consideration the increase in minority groups would probably be greater.

[58] Same as footnote 56.

We must be concerned, therefore, not only about the problems of the youths we have identified as of today. We must be gravely and immediately concerned with stepping up the training and employment of the added numbers of young people entering a job market that demands more and more skill training.

This is a problem for employers who are going to need skilled help to satisfy their needs. It is equally a problem for labor unions who will be concerned with the health of the economy and with high standards of earnings and performance. It presents a challenge to the schools, where tremendous effort will have to be focused to raise the educational level of job aspirants. And it presents a challenge to the city fathers and the citizens of New York to undertake a concentrated effort in behalf of the city's youths, not only for the welfare of the youths themselves but for the sake of the city's own future economic health.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding study has made it clear that no single approach can solve the growing youth unemployment problem in New York City. New and better jobs alone will not help youths who are unqualified for the opportunities that may be offered to them. Special school programs alone will be of little use to discouraged nonwhite youths who see no practical value in education when discriminatory employment practices keep them at lower job levels anyway. Urgent action is required on a broad front, in each of the areas in which the unemployment problem manifests itself, so that the total program will be far more effective than any of its parts alone.

Such a program must include:

Jobs—There can be no question that more jobs must be found for the city's youths, who are experiencing twice as much difficulty in finding employment as do the city's adults. Attention should be focused at once on providing jobs to see youths through the critical years under 20, an age group for which the city's economy has failed to provide sufficient work opportunities, including on-the-job training to enable youths to attain more-skilled levels later on.

Elimination of Job Discrimination—Greater equality of opportunity must be achieved even in the present job shortage to provide more jobs for Negro and Puerto Rican youths.

Education and Training—Current efforts must be stepped up to improve the education and training of all New York City youths, especially those of minority groups.

Counseling and Motivation—The opportunities that will be available must be brought home to the youths who are needed to fill the jobs in the city so that many more of them will make full use of their capabilities.

Concern for Youths' Total Environment—Throughout the effort to improve our youths' opportunities and capabilities, we must remember that youths are a product of their environment. Unless a concerted effort is made to improve their environment—of poverty, discrimination, inadequate housing and poor family relations—we cannot expect youths in deprived neighborhoods to aspire to the level of their abilities.

Continuing Research—Coordination of the knowledge on the youth situation that is available from various sources will provide valuable information on the effectiveness of various programs and help indicate where new programs should be started. Important information is continually being made available by city, state and federal departments of labor. The Board of Education and the City Planning Commission also produce valuable information relating to New York City's youths. Research projects carried on by the Youth Board, private universities, the State Division for Youth and the United States Department of Labor will contribute to our knowledge of economic and social factors in the development of the city's youngsters. But to prevent fumbling blindly in these efforts, the services of a coordinator are required to draw together all available knowledge.

(Detailed tables are available upon request at the New York City Youth Board, 79 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.)